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Trends of Loanword Origins in 20th Century Finnish

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in Linguistics from
The College of William and Mary

by

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Accepted for _____
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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Williamsburg, VA
April 23, 2014

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1.0 Introduction

Speakers of different languages often come into contact and need to communicate with varying degrees of regularity. Societal factors can sometimes cause speakers of a language to abandon it in favor of another language that is considered more useful or prestigious. This can eventually lead to the death of their first language if it falls completely out of use. This scenario often happens when a language is the minority language of a region and is surrounded by unrelated languages. While this was the situation in Finland during the 18th and 19th centuries, Finnish endured and is now the most widely spoken Uralic language, spoken by over five million speakers. My broader research aim is to examine how Finnish was able to survive despite being ruled by foreign powers until the early 20th century and how loanwords from these languages fit with the historical and social relations Finland had with other countries and languages.

Finnish belongs to the Uralic language family, which is unrelated to the Indo European languages spoken in most of Europe. Finnish has eight vowels and thirteen consonants, makes use of vowel harmony, and a phonemic distinction between short and long sounds for both vowels and consonants. Finnish is a highly inflected language with fifteen cases and no articles. While Germanic languages influenced Finnish syntax, Finnish as a whole has maintained its autonomy from the surrounding Indo European languages, despite having been ruled by Sweden and Russia in turn (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 100). This project examines how trends in loanwords into Finnish correlate with and reflect on the sociopolitical relations with other countries over the 20th century, as well as the how the advent of the internet and the globalization of English have influenced the Finnish language.

This paper will start with a brief overview of Finnish history, with an emphasis on sociopolitical trends before detailing the general methods of loanword incorporation. I will then

discuss my methodology in determining a sample and examining the origins of a set number of words in Finnish newspapers before moving into the data I gathered and a discussion of said data, as well as its implications for the role of loanwords in Finnish.

2.0 Historical Background Information

When looking at how words were borrowed into a language, it is important to set the information within its historical context. The type of social relationship between languages in contact can reveal much about the degree of borrowing that occurs. Languages in contact can be part of a superstratum, substratum, or adstratum contact situation (Millar 2007: 288). In a superstratal context, the language of a socially powerful group influences the language of a less powerful group, while in a substratal relationship the less powerful group influences the dominant language. An adstratal situation is found when two or more languages come into contact, but there is no dominant group between them and the languages have about equal influence on each other. Finland has experienced both superstratal and adstratal contact situations with Swedish and Russian respectively.

An awareness of the social and political history of Finland is imperative to place the acquired loanword data into a meaningful context and extrapolate possible explanations. As leadership and government control shifts, different language policies are often enacted, leading to language change that might not be apparent from simple societal hierarchy alone. Over the course of its history, the region that is now Finland was ruled by Sweden and Russia in turn. The different governments' exertion of control over the region greatly influenced the development of Finnish. Over time a sense of Finland as its own entity also developed, leading to the growth of a nationalist movement in the late 1800s, which ultimately resulted in Finnish independence. This

section will give a brief overview of Finnish history up to the modern day, focusing on political and societal changes and the ways they affected language usage.

2.1 Swedish Rule

2.1.1 Early Swedish Rule

For much of its history, Finland was made up of tribes of peasant farmers and traders with the area considered Finland very loosely defined and lacking a strong central government (Kirby 2006: 4). Finland was actively involved in trade in the Baltic and thus was aware of ideas and innovations from mainland Europe (Kirby 2006: 25). In the 13th century Sweden exerted its rule over Finland, holding power until 1809.

During this time, the Finnish written language was created by Mikhail Agricola. Agricola was a monk who studied theology in Germany during the Protestant Reformation in the 1500's. One tenant of the Reformation was the idea that common people should be able to read scripture. When Agricola returned to Finland, he decided to create a written record of Finnish so that he could translate the Bible for common people to read. The early written Finnish followed the Swedish spelling, grammar, and sentence structure; some Germanic influence in orthography and loanwords also transferred (mikaelagricola.fi). Agricola also followed the example of Martin Luther and other reformers by taking an interest in traditional Finnish sayings; they believed that proverbs could help cultivate and enrich the vernacular language, ultimately leading the congregation to greater devotion (Lehtinen 1981: 283). This indicates that there was interest in further establishing the Finnish language already in the 1500s.

From 1700-1721 Sweden and Russia fought the Great Northern War for control of the Baltic. Finland served as the battleground, which resulted in a ravaged countryside, famine, and loss of half of the Finnish population. With the end of the war in 1721, Sweden lost its status as a

Great Power in the area and lost some of its autonomy over Finland and the Baltic regions, though still officially keeping control of the majority of Finland (Kirby 2006: 65).

2.1.2 Late Swedish Rule

The lessening of Swedish dominance seriously altered the relations between the western (Swedish) and eastern (Finnish) halves of their kingdom. By this time Finns had already developed a reputation for their “well-known obstinacy and devotion to their own mother tongue” (Lehtinen 1981: 287). This period was marked by increasing intolerance of linguistic diversity, shown in the pressures on Finnish peasants to teach their children Swedish and the low esteem in which the language Finns spoke was held; they spoke mainly Finnish, but even the dialect of Swedish they spoke was viewed as uncivilized (Kirby 2006: 65). While Swedish officials made observance of religion mandatory, they did not institute a policy requiring church services to be in Swedish because this went against their Lutheran conviction that everyone should be able to understand scripture in their own language (Lehtinen 1981: 27).

Newspapers and all official documents had been written in Swedish, an indication of the practically nonexistent influence the Finns held in government. There was a decline in the use of Finnish as the language in the home of the upper class, showing that knowledge of Swedish was an indication of higher status in the social hierarchy. However, there were still many Finnish-speaking peasants who did not have any interest in learning the Swedish language or adopting Swedish customs (Kirby 2006: 66). While Sweden lost its status as a Great Power in 1721 after a series of wars with Russia, it maintained autonomy over the Finnish nation. It was in this period after Sweden’s fall in esteem that Finland and its people were seen more and more as a separate entity within the domain of Sweden. Finland even acquired a distinct identity in international relations at least as early as 1742, when the empress of Russia issued a manifesto on the question

of Finnish independence (Lehtinen 1981: 277). While the issue of independence was not at the forefront of affairs at the time, it is a firm indication that Finland was already seen as its own entity.

The Russo-Swedish War fought from 1741–1743, resulted in the cessation of some eastern portions of Finnish territory to Russia. It was not until 1808, after the Finnish War, that Sweden lost Finland to Russia and it was ceded as the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland within the Russian Empire.

2.2 Russian Rule

2.2.1 Incorporation of Finland into the Russian Empire

From the start, the Russian emperor Alexander I did not want the Finns to consider themselves conquered by the Russians, but rather “joined to it by their own self evident interests” (Kirby 2006: 76). He wanted the Finns to forget the time of their Swedish rule and break any personal loyalties they may have still held. With these goals in mind he wanted the Finns to have a political presence and thus established a government structure for Finland in December of 1808, which is remembered as the first foundation for the Finnish state (Kirby 2006: 73). Finland was still under Russian rule, but considered an autonomous Grand Duchy. Duchies were a common government structure throughout Europe, especially in the Middle Ages. In such a structure, the duchy has its own semi-independent government, usually with a representative present from the ruling sovereign nation. While a duchy was fairly uncommon for the 1800’s, Finland’s status as a duchy was likely continued because it had been a duchy under Sweden since the 1500s, although without its own government. Additionally, Russia was deciding what government structures to use in their other provinces and viewed the structure they had established for Finland as a potential model for these provinces. The Finnish state was so

successful and well ordered the Russian emperor wished to preserve and develop it so that he could apply the model to other Russian territories (Kirby 2006: 74). The amount of power granted to Finland is indicative of its status within the Russian empire as a separate state rather than merely a province.

Many Finns still thought favorably of their former motherland, Sweden, and had reservations about their new ruler. Private dealings with relatives and friends in Sweden and some cultural exchange still continued despite the shift in sovereignty (Tandfelt & Finnäs 2007: 39). However, most elites were reassured by the Russian emperor's commitment to upholding the existing order within Finland and allowing elites to advance their careers in Russia as well as Finland (Kirby 2006: 76). Despite having been on the periphery of both Sweden and Russia in turn, Russia did much more to develop Finland by establishing an autonomous government for Finland that communicated directly to the Russian emperor.

Another aspect of the Russian policy for incorporating Finland under its Empire included a new language policy. Russian officials agreed that it was best to promote the Finnish language into a higher status in order to fight against the dominance of the Swedish language in the region. They felt not only that the Finns' knowledge of Swedish was a negative reminder of Swedish rule, but that the Swedish language needed to lose popularity if Russian was to one day usurp it as a dominant language in the region (Polvinen 1995: 133). In May of 1902, Finnish and Swedish were established as official languages of Finland; this was a strategic move by Russian officials who did not want to upset or instigate rebellion from the upper class of Finns, the majority of whom still spoke Swedish and held it in high regard. A movement to establish Finnish as an official language and Swedish as an 'authorized' language was so radical it did not even receive support from hardened Finnish advocates (Polvinen 1995: 134). Knowledge of the

Russian language was never wide spread in Finland due to the success of Finnish nationalist movements in the late 1800s and early 1900s, as will be elaborated on in the next section.

2.2.2 Growth of Nationalist Movements

In the first thirty years of Russian rule, a faction known as ‘Fennomans’ developed, made up of both intellectuals and those in the working class. They had an interest in the past of the Finnish people and wanted to develop a greater sense of Finnish nationalism (Kirby 2006: 91). A part of the Fennoman movement promoted not only the development of Finnish, but its use by both the elite and peasantry. A growth in Finnish language press was spurred by the movement and by the end of the 1840s the gap between the elite and common people had narrowed with the greater spread of Finnish newspapers and other reading material (Kirby 2006: 100). Some Fennomans held a ‘Finland for the Finns’ mentality and were opposed to Swedish being spoken, however others recognized the deep roots of the Swedish speaking portion of the population and advocated for co-existence of the languages (Tandfelt & Finnäs 2007: 40).

The question of whether Finnish should be the only official language was debated in newspapers throughout the late 1800s, however it did not cause violent tension and division in communities as occurred with many other language conflicts in Europe. Rather, because the question of language in Finland was ultimately about social change rather than a quarrel between nationalities, there were fewer hard feelings (Kirby 2006: 119). Despite being under Russian rule, much of the Finnish ruling class still spoke Swedish; while they spoke Swedish, they were by no means foreign to the country, many having been settled there for generations. Thus there was no feeling that the Finnish language was being oppressed by a foreign power.

Initially, Russian officials did not see this group as a threat because the Fennomans were not interested in creating a separate Finnish political entity to “fulfill their destiny” (Kirby 2006:

91). Rather, Russians viewed the movement as beneficial to their aims of eventually fully incorporating Finland into the empire, as it would encourage them to forget their Swedish ties. Alexander I failed to realize that this would also eventually lead to the Finn's desire for even more rights, such as their own constitution and, later, their independence (Kirby 2006: 77).

2.2.3 Growth of Nationalism and Declaration of Independence

This series of events that lead to ardent support for independence is not uncommon; however the impact it had on the Finnish language is more unique. Ireland experienced a nationalist revival around the same time, but ultimately resulted in the Irish language falling almost completely out of use (Coleman 2010). The key difference between the situations was that lower class Irishmen thought that it would be most advantageous for their children to learn English, the socially prestigious language. Many people were leaving Ireland at the time due to the Great Famine, so despite their pride in being Irish, practicality insisted they learn English. In the case of Finland, there was very little emigration of Finns to other Nordic countries and thus the lower class of Finns did not see any advantage in encouraging their children to learn Swedish, the socially dominant language, as the majority of their communities spoke Finnish (Coleman 2010: 52). So although Swedish was the socially prestigious language, it eventually fell out of favor due to the majority of Finns speaking Finnish.

The Irish and Finnish national movements occurred in the mid to late 1800s, at the same time as nationalist revolutions were happening in many countries across Europe. These revolutions sparked fear amidst the Russian officials and led to legislation restricting the publication of Finnish language books to those on religious works and farming (Kirby 2006: 101). In the late 1800s, there was a growing sentiment among the Fennomans that acknowledged how Sweden had played a crucial role in the development and advancement of Finland. Many

felt that the Finns had been enriched by Swedish culture while the Russians were untouched by outside influence and left “in brutish ignorance” (Kirby 2006: 117). In the late 1800s, the Russian press criticized the lack of knowledge of the Russian empire and language amongst educated circles in Finland (Kirby 2006: 124). There was general displeasure amongst many Russians at the liberties and freedom Finland had been granted, acting as its own nation in many ways with its own postal system and currency. Under a policy of ‘Russification’ from 1899-1905 and again from 1909-1917, the Russian government exerted tighter control over the Finnish government and elites, much to the anger of the Finns. During this period the Russian Orthodox Church also spread across Finland along with Russian immigrants in an attempt to further integrate Finland into the Russian empire (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 129). However, Finnish resistance to this Russification steadily intensified over the years, and support for the Finnish nationalist movement increased. A growing sense of independence and desire to control their own government works and systems culminated in Finland’s declaration of independence from Russia on December 6, 1917.

Russia, then the Soviet Union, later attacked Finland in 1939 after disagreement over new border treaties, leading to a four-year war between the nations. Some land on the eastern border was ceded to the Soviet Union in the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947; many Finns remain bitter about this war and the lost territory. Following the peace treaty, Finland continued to grow stronger as an international power, hosting the Olympics in 1952 and joining the United Nations in 1955. A larger presence on an international scale meant more language contact and influence on Finnish.

2.3 Modern Day Language Usage and Attitudes

The Finnish Literature Society (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura*) was formed in 1831 by three men who wanted to preserve and advocate for the Finnish language. In 1928, the

organization founded a standing language committee dedicated to discussing questions related to linguistic correctness; Finnish had been increasingly influenced by other languages and the need to adapt words for new technology to the point that some were concerned whether Finnish could continue doing this while maintaining its linguistic identity. The committee later grew into a board, the *Kielitoimisto*, which combined with the Finnish Literature Society into the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (*Kotimaisten Kielten Keskus*) in 1976, which still regulates the Finnish language today. The Research Institute carries out many of the same tasks as language academies in other countries including compiling mono and multilingual dictionaries of the languages of Finnish and Swedish, tracking changes in Finnish, and organizing the boards for other languages used in Finland, namely Sami, Romanian, and Finnish Sign Language (Institute for the Languages of Finland 2012).

A part of tracking linguistic change in Finland involves keeping record of dialectal variation over time. From 1850 to 1950, a dialect known as Old Helsinki Slang¹ developed which mixed Finnish morpho-syntax with Swedish vocabulary (Jarva 2008). It was developed in the working class neighborhoods of Helsinki by school age boys where both Swedish and Finnish speaking Finns lived. This phenomenon was fairly limited, not reaching all working class Finns in the city and was used less frequently by women than by men. Some suggest that Old Helsinki Slang is its own separate language, however Jarva asserts that it is more plausibly a case of language mixing as many of the speakers were bilingual in the component languages, it was not a first language for anyone, and there is no evidence of reduced Finnish grammar (2008: 76-79). This dialect did not spread to the upper classes, where Swedish was still deemed the

¹ Slang consists of a few non-standard words and phrases in a language that is used by a small portion of the speaker population. While this dialect is called Old Helsinki Slang, it is not slang in the linguistic definition of the word, but rather a dialect of Finnish that has a heavy Swedish influence in the lexicon. The number and extent of the Swedish words indicates that the phenomenon is more than merely slang.

prestigious language during much of this time and so many families discouraged the use of Finnish (Jarva 2008: 56).

Both Finnish and Swedish are still taught in schools today, however English has steadily taken precedence as the more important second language to learn. Since the school reform in the 1970's, students have studied at least two languages other than their native language, one being the second national language, Swedish or Finnish, and the other a modern international language (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 126). Already in the 1980s English was being taught more commonly in schools. In the current system, students begin their first compulsory foreign language at nine years old, which has to be either English or one of the national languages; they start the second compulsory language four years later, in the later half of their primary education, or grade school. On the whole, the average number of foreign languages studied by Finnish students during their secondary education is 2.5, whereas the average for the whole of other European countries is 1.4 (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 158). Since the 1960s, the percentage of students who have chosen English as their first foreign language to study has increased dramatically, rising from 57% in 1962 to reach 99% in 2000 (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 159). This is a clear indication of the increasing relevance English holds for Finns and the declining influence of Swedish.

The Research Institute for the Languages of Finland continues to observe and maintain the Finnish language. During the second half of the 20th century, urbanization has changed the “linguistic map of Finland” (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 102). As people moved from the country into the cities, especially the region surrounding Helsinki, regional dialects mixed, though many continued to speak a form close to the Standard Finnish. Differences between written and spoken varieties have also significantly increased since the 1990s, as more spoken

variants are adopted in certain texts, such as afternoon newspapers and texts aimed at youths (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 102). English loanwords are particularly prevalent in advertising and the media, as it has been found using English loanwords gives products a higher marketing value by making them seem more international and trendy (Tamminen-Parre 2009). While the biggest influence used to be Swedish, today English is the greatest source of loanwords and change. Although Swedish has declined as an influential donor language, there has been an increasing interest since the 1990's in learning and maintaining the Swedish language in Finland, partially as an interest in Finland's past and heritage.

English borrowings are also often found in words for new technology. A private agency closely connected to the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland was created in 1974 to develop terminology specifically for technical fields. Known as the Finnish Centre for Technical Terminology (*Tekniikan Sanastokeskus*), they are most often solicited by language for special purposes (LSP) translators, documentation specialists, and technical writers from both the public and private sectors. The Centre also publishes guides and handbooks on the methods of their terminology work, a quarterly newsletter on the issues they encounter, as well as a vocabulary series of all their created words (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 180).

As Finland strives to be a player in the global economy in business and technology, this trend of incorporating English loans in increasing numbers is likely to continue. As the use of English is increasing both in Europe and around the world, Finns are using it more and more in both professional fields and in daily, private use. Often Finns see the usage of English as related to the perceived need for Finns to be competitive and 'international' (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 366). Researchers in the fields of science and technology are increasingly writing reports and articles only in English, as the Finnish audience is too small (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 182).

The use of English along side Finnish is especially significant and used as an identity marker with many of the cultural activities of young people such as skateboarding, music, video games, and weblogs (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 367). Leppänen and Nikula assert that today, “the borderline between what is English and what is Finnish is becoming blurred” (2007: 367). A hybrid form of bilingualism between English and Finnish is becoming increasingly common in certain context specific situations, namely in game events and online messaging.

In Leppänen and Nikula’s research on the role of English in Finland, they advocate a holistic approach which takes into account that language use is a social practice which shapes and is shaped by the setting, activity, and institutional context (2007: 369). Thus while monolingual usage of English has become common in media and professional life as a necessity in interviews and emails because English is a lingua franca between them and non-Finnish speakers, they argue this does not mean that English is ‘taking over’ by any means (Leppänen & Nikula 2007). Rather, Finns are using English in a variety of ways to serve their own purposes, whether they are practical or identity driven (Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 368). English is used as an identity marker with some young groups, namely those ascribing to a particular hobby like skateboarding, however, they still maintain their Finnish identity despite their regular use of English.

Today Finns face the question of if the Finnish language is truly endangered as some researchers suggest. Some fear that due to the overwhelming popularity of English, over time Finnish will continue to merge with English to create a defined pidgin; some have already taken to using the term ‘Finglish’ to describe the use of English in Finnish speech. Others believe that because it is often used in combination with Finnish in ways to display a speaker’s ability to negotiate social situations or otherwise identify themselves as belonging to a specific group,

Finns will become increasingly aware of the roles and functions of multiple languages in their daily life, rather than seeing Finnish become marginalized (Leppänen & Nikula 2007). So long as Finns continue to view Finnish as a vital mark of their identity, it will continue to survive as a separate language (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2002: 187).

3.0 Background on Loanwords and Language Change

Languages are constantly changing due to both internal and external pressures. Often speakers of a language borrow words from other languages because of a need in the language, such as needing a term for a new piece of technology, or due to the prestige associated with the other language, such as how Middle English borrowed many words from French. Languages often experience internal change from phonetic shift as speakers merge vowels or delete word final consonants, as well as semantic change when some words change in meaning over time. Languages often gain new phonemes when many loanwords with a foreign phoneme are borrowed over time; Finnish gained the phonemes /b/, /d/, /f/, and /g/ as well as the orthographic letter ‘c’ via loanwords from other languages, namely English and Swedish. While there is much to discuss on the phonetic and semantic shifts that occur in words that are borrowed into Finnish, this research focuses more on the overall trends of the word origins. There will be some limited reference to phonetic trends when discussing loanwords from different origins in section 6.1. The rest of this section will detail how words are borrowed into a language and what changes may happen in the process of borrowing a word, including semantic change and hypercorrection.

3.1 Methods of Incorporating a Loanword

There are three ways languages borrow a word, one way is as a direct copy, where the word is borrowed as it is. Direct copies can sometimes have issues with pronunciation if the word contains phonemes, or sounds, that aren't found in the language being borrowed into. Another way is as a calque, or a morpheme-by-morpheme translation into the new language. The third way is with combining forms, where a morpheme is taken from the donor language, such as the Greek micro- and mega-, and added to words to create meaning (Millar 2007: 22-26).

The first two processes are found in Finnish with loanwords from varying origins, several examples of which were found in my data. Direct copies are one of the most common ways a loanword is adapted; they often retain a foreign sense, as they tend to include phoneme combinations that are not natural in the language they are borrowed into. An example of a direct copy can be seen with the English word 'internet,' found in my data for 2005, which was directly copied into Finnish as *internetiä*. In this case the phonemes changed slightly in the word's adoption, as the Finnish uses a trill /r/ rather than the alveolar approximant /ɹ/.

Calques tend to be considered more integrated into the recipient language as native words are simply being used in a new combination. An example of a Finnish calque is seen with the word *jalkapallo* for 'soccer' where the words for 'foot,' *jalka*, and 'ball,' *pallo*, are directly translated and combined.

3.2 Semantic Change

Once words are borrowed, processes that occur to all words within the language often affect them. Semantic change, or a change in the meaning of a word, occurs to many of a language's words over time (Millar 2007: 43). In the data I gathered, I came across many examples of semantic change, where the most common processes were pejoration, a worsening

of meaning, as well as a widening of meaning, where examples of both of these were found in the data from 1975. An example of pejoration, or a worsening of meaning, is seen with the verb *kieltää* which means ‘to refuse’ but previously meant ‘to speak.’ A widening of meaning was seen in the word *luku*, which means ‘a count’ but previously meant ‘a numerical amount’. Over time the term has generalized to also refer to non-concrete numbers such as grammatical number rather than just a specific numerical amount.

3.3 Hypercorrection

Hypercorrection occurs when a speaker deliberately tries to adjust his or her own speech in the direction of a variety considered more prestigious, but applies the adjustment too broadly (Millar 2007: 142). The word *biisi* in the data from 1995 is an example of hypercorrection, where Finnish speakers began to put the foreign sound, /b/ in a place it didn’t originally belong. The word originally derived from the English ‘piece’ and first appeared in the Finnish language as *piisi*. However, /b/ is a foreign sound to Finnish, thus speakers began to hypercorrect and use /b/ instead of /p/ in the word, associating a foreign word with a foreign sound despite the foreign sound not being present in the original word.

4.0 Methods

4.1 Data Source

In gathering data, my goal was to find a source that gave a form of the language that was most likely to be commonly spoken and used in everyday life. I deemed newspapers to be the best source of a colloquial variety of the language as newspapers are written to reach a wide audience and are most likely to use words that are commonly spoken and widely considered acceptable to use at the time.

Data was gathered from the newspaper, the *Helsingin Sanomat* because Helsinki is the Finnish capital and located fairly evenly between Sweden and Russia. This minimizes geographic bias, as cities closer to one border or another are likely to pick up more words from Swedish or Russian respectively. The *Helsingin Sanomat* was first founded in 1889 as the *Päivälehti* when Finland was still a Grand Duchy under Russia. The newspaper was forced to close by the Russian authorities in 1904 because of the paper's strong advocacy of the Fennoman movement and greater freedoms for Finland. It reopened in 1905 as the *Helsingin Sanomat* and has circulated since, being politically neutral since the 1930's. The paper seems to have striven to use Standard Finnish because it is the written language that everyone learns in school, regardless of what dialectal variety they speak. Therefore, any loaned words found in the paper have presumably been adopted into Finnish and are considered standard.

4.2 Procedure

I looked up words from each decade from 1945-2005. I began with 1945 because I am focusing on English loans, which were more prevalent later in the century. This decade was also after conflicts had been settled with the Soviet Union and Finland had been established as a state in its final form and political boundaries. I chose a day of the year not located around any major holidays, March 5, from which to gather data in hopes of avoiding seasonal articles and language closely associated with specific holidays. I also chose the year in the middle of the decade because it is most likely to have distinctive language for that decade, whereas years before and after would likely share more trends with the preceding and following decades respectively.

I recorded consecutive words from articles until I had found two hundred unique words and looked them up in an etymological dictionary to determine their origins. I took words from the first articles of national significance I came across in the newspaper, starting with the front

page. I recorded words from the article until I had either reached 250 sequential words from the article, including repeats, or the article had ended. I limited to 250 words from an article in the interest of avoiding excessive repetition, as after this point there were only a couple novel words within a string of sentences. After I reached this number, I then moved on to the second sequential article of national significance I found in the same day's newspaper. Typically articles I gathered from a paper were within the first ten pages of the newspaper. For those articles that stated they continued in a separate section of the paper, I went to that section and continued to record words until I reached my 250 word limit.

Finnish is considered an agglutinating language, where content words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and numerals are inflected to carry meaning. While I did count function words such as conjunctions and pronouns, there were not many of these small words because of the structure of Finnish as a heavily inflected language. In looking up the words, I identified the root of each word, where compound words were considered to have multiple roots, with each root counted separately. I did not count names for specific places and word roots were each counted only once in my two hundred words; all inflected forms of that root were discounted after the root had been recorded.

I relied heavily on Kaisa Häkkinen's etymological dictionary to find and record the origins of the words (2004). I used Erkki Itkonen's three-volume etymological dictionary to fill any gaps from words the first dictionary did not include (2012). There were a few instances where a word could not be found in either dictionary, or was suspiciously listed as a Latin loan from the 1800s, but was clearly recognizable as an English loan word. In these cases I looked up the word in the Oxford English Dictionary to get a sense of when and where English got the word from and then determined if Finnish might have gotten the word from Swedish by checking

what the Swedish word was using an online translator, usually Google translate but also cross-referencing with the site bab.la which gave a usage based definition by pulling the most popular examples of the word in sentences in both languages (Schroeter & Uecker). In instances where the word was claimed to be loaned from Latin in the 1800s, I compared the Finnish word to words in Germanic languages (Swedish, Norwegian, and German) and Romance languages (French, Spanish, Portuguese) to see how similar the Finnish word was to these languages and trace what family of languages the word likely derived from. In many instances, Finnish borrowed words from Swedish which they had borrowed from French; thus if a Finnish word seemed to correspond to the Swedish and French, I determined it most plausible that it was another example of this established pattern of borrowing. A complete list of these unusual cases is found in Appendix 1 and the confusion of the etymological dictionary will be elaborated on in section 6.3.

Only articles of national significance were used in hopes of getting the most commonly used vernacular. International news pieces were disqualified because they are more likely to have loan words as they often are about foreign issues and countries. Any articles extensively quoting or discussing law texts were also disqualified as such formal language would not have been indicative of the Finnish vernacular for most Finns at the time.

In categorizing the word origins, I did not count words that had been created from a previous loanword as new borrowings, because they were new innovations in the Finnish language independent of their origins. However, I did record these occurrences because there were many instances in later decades where words were created for new technology based on previous loanwords. In any cases where slightly contested origins were offered, I went with the choice that was suggested to be more likely. There were some cases where a word was identified

as having first been seen in the language very early on, but not becoming popularly used until many years later. In these instances, the later date was used as the vernacular is what this research is focusing on and the later date is when more people were likely to speak it.

4.3 Hypothesis

I hypothesized that there would be an overall increase in the number of English loanwords found by the later decades of my data (from 1985 onward) as the technological boom in the 1980s fostered the spread of English around the world. I expected there to be a consistent number of early Germanic loanwords as Finnish was influenced by Germany due to its geographic proximity and status as a nation of modernism and technology throughout the 1700s and 1800s. I expected the number of Swedish loans to taper off by later in the century in favor of English loans, as the spread of media via the Internet allowed Finland greater access to English media rather than being restricted to what the geographically closer Swedish culture had to offer. Finally, I believed Russian loans to be consistently present, but minimal due to their policy of advocating the growth of Finnish during their rule and the later negative attitudes Finland held towards Russia after the Soviet Union instigated a war with Finland in the early 1940's.

5.0 Results

The results of the data gathered are detailed below. Overall, the results do not directly match the hypothesis in that there was not a dramatic rise in English loans by the last decades of the century. However, there was still a slight rise in English loans over time; 2005 had the most originally English words and the most Swedish loans originally derived from English, showing a slight rise in English later in the century. Russian loanwords are consistently present, but minimal over the decades; Germanic loans were also consistently present as expected. There was

an initial rise in Swedish loans in the first decades of data that seemed to be encroaching on the number of Germanic loans, however this trend leveled off and the number of Swedish loans remained consistent.

5.1 Data Overview

After gathering the data I recorded the number of loan words from each language, creating categories as needed to fit the data, based on those the dictionary used. I made a distinction between words loaned before 1700 and after 1700 to clearly differentiate between more recent versus older loans. I chose 1700 because this was around the time of the start of increased contact and tension between Sweden and Russia and the beginning of the modern conflicts that would shape Finland as a nation. The final loanword categories I use are old and new Swedish, old and new Russian, English, old and new Baltic, Indo-European, Scandinavian, and unclear. English loans were all after 1700 while Indo-European and Scandinavian loans were all before 1700.² The unclear category is for words that were identified as being loans, but whose origins were marked as indistinguishable.

Overall, an average of 33% of the two hundred words from each decade consisted of loanwords. Table 1 illustrates how there was a significant increase in the percentage that were loanwords up to 1975, at which point the rise tapered out. The drastically lower percentage of loanwords in 1985 will be elaborated on in section 5.2.

² These categories are all the languages that Häkkinen's dictionary used to define the origins of words. Thus, while Swedish and English are actually a part of the Germanic language family, Germanic in this instance generally refers to older loans that cannot be further specified beyond the Germanic language family. Those Germanic loans that date to after the 1700s are mostly directly from German. Scandinavian loans are also all older and the term is used because more specific relations could not be identified. Indo-European loan words are the oldest of all and show cognates with multiple Indo-European language families, some specifically showing a relation to Indo-Aryan.

Table 1- Percentage of Loanwords by Decade

Year	1945	1955	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005
# Of Loanwords	56	72	68	71	57	69	62
Percentage that are Loanwords	28%	36%	33%	36%	29%	35%	31%

Table 2 shows the number of loans in each category, distinguishing both early and late loans where applicable. The percentage of loanwords from that language out of the total number of loanwords for that decade is listed directly next to the number of loans (both early and late loans combined). The total number of loanwords was out of a total 200 words for each decade.

Table 2- Loanword Totals by Language

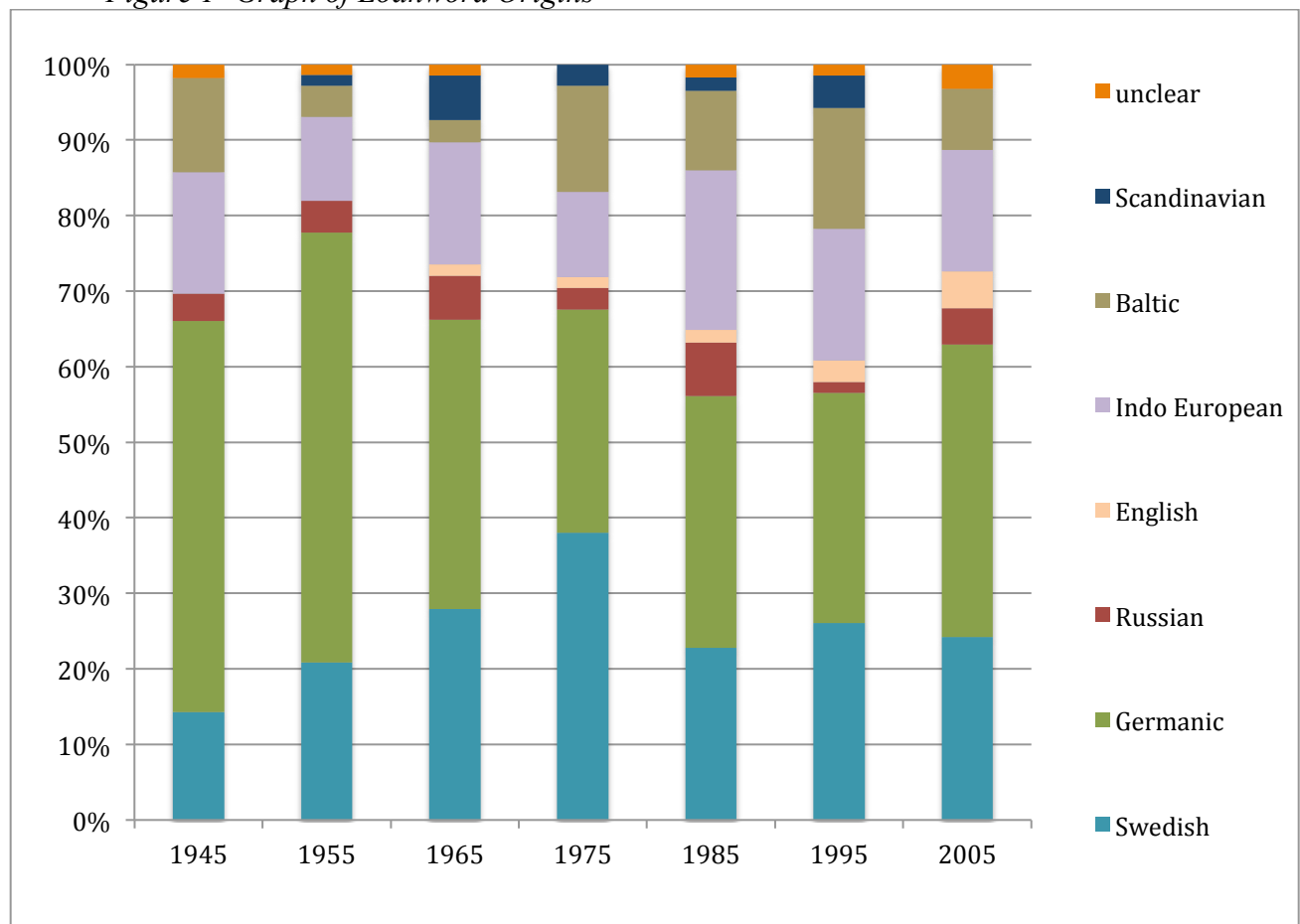
	1945		1955		1965		1975		1985		1995		2005	
Swedish (early)	6		7		13		10		8		9		6	
Swedish (late)	2	15%	8	21%	6	29%	17	38%	5	22%	9	26%	9	24%
Germanic (early)	26		37		21		16		17		18		22	
Germanic (late)	3	53%	3	56%	4	38%	5	30%	2	35%	3	30%	2	38%
Russian (early)	0		1		0		0		2		0		1	
Russian (late)	2	4%	2	4%	4	6%	2	3%	2	7%	1	1%	2	5%
English	0	0%	0	0%	1	2%	1	1%	1	1%	2	2%	3	5%
Indo European	9	16%	5	7%	11	17%	8	11%	12	21%	12	17%	10	16%
Baltic (early)	4		2		1		9		4		9		5	
Baltic (late)	2	11%	1	4%	1	3%	1	14%	2	10%	2	16%	0	8%
Scandinavian (early)	0	0%	1	1%	3	5%	2	2%	1	1%	3	4%	0	0%
Unclear	1	1%	1	1%	1	2%	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%	2	3%
Total	55		71		66		71		57		69		62	

Germanic loanwords consistently made up the largest portion of loans for almost every decade, the highest percentage being 56% in 1955 and then tapering to about a third of each decade; the lower percentage in 1975 will be elaborated on in section 5.2. The prevalence of Germanic loans is understandable as the bulk of them are early loans, many dating to the creation of the Finnish language. The Germanic loans are elaborated on in section 6.1.1.

Swedish loans were fairly uncommon in 1945 at only 15%, however they increased over the course of the century, hovering at a bit over a fourth of loanwords from 1965 onward, with the exception of 1975. It is notable that Swedish had many more late loans than Germanic did, averaging eight late Swedish loans a decade whereas late Germanic averaged about three. Trends in Swedish loans are elaborated on in sections 5.3 and 6.1.2.

Indo European and Scandinavian loans are all old, dating to the creation of the Finnish written language, comparable to early Germanic loans. Therefore, any fluctuations are likely due purely to chance, as they are mostly older words for chronologically ubiquitous items that endured into the modern language. Baltic loans are from the Baltic languages spoken to the south of Finland, namely Latvian and Lithuanian. The Baltic loans found in the data are mostly old and any fluctuations are also likely due to chance.

Figure 1 illustrates the information from Table 2, where each column represents the loanwords found for each decade. Note that the columns are the total number of loanwords found in that decade rather than the total number 200 words looked up, meaning the total is different for each decade. The figure shows an overall increase in Swedish loans and a slight rise in English loans. This chart shows that Swedish and Germanic loans combined made up about 60% of loanwords for every decade.

Figure 1- Graph of Loanword Origins

Figures 2-8 are pie charts of the above loanword data for each decade within the context of the total 200 words examined each year. They show that there was a slight increase in the number of loanwords from 1945 and generally made up a third of each decade's 200 words.

Figure 2-
1945

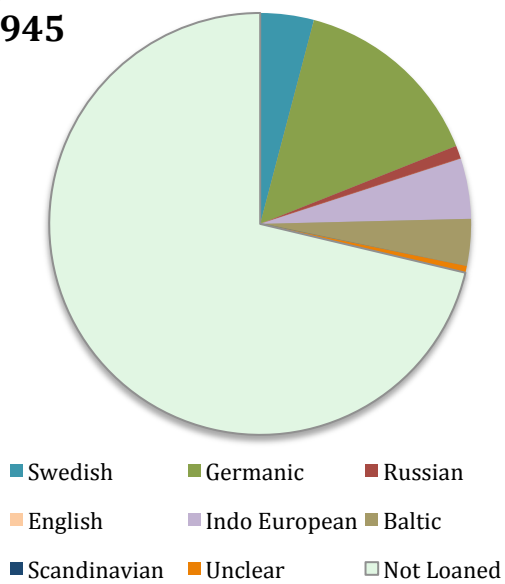


Figure 3-
1955

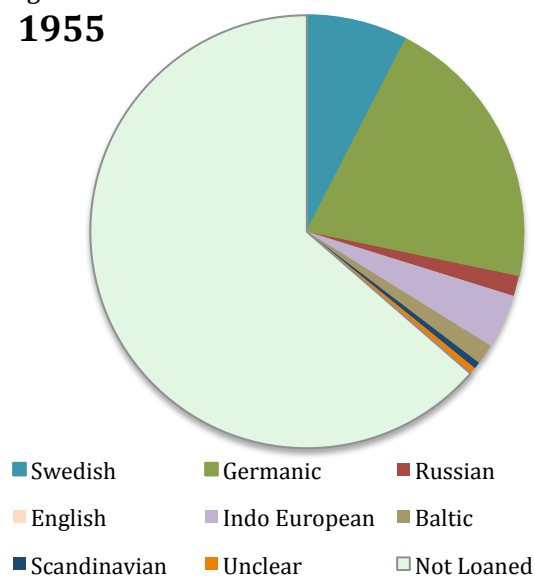


Figure 4-
1965

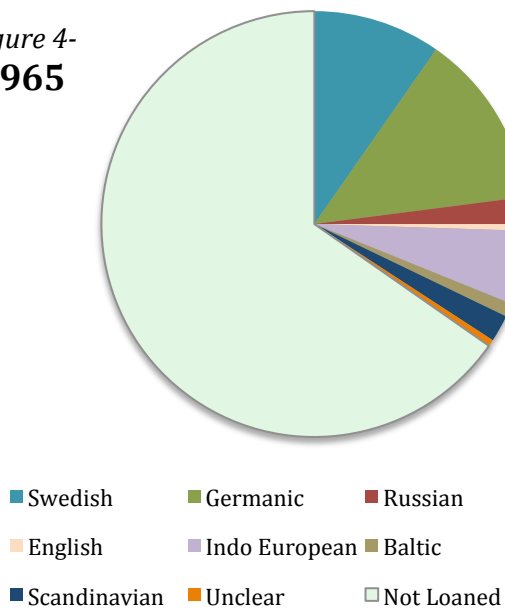


Figure 5-
1975

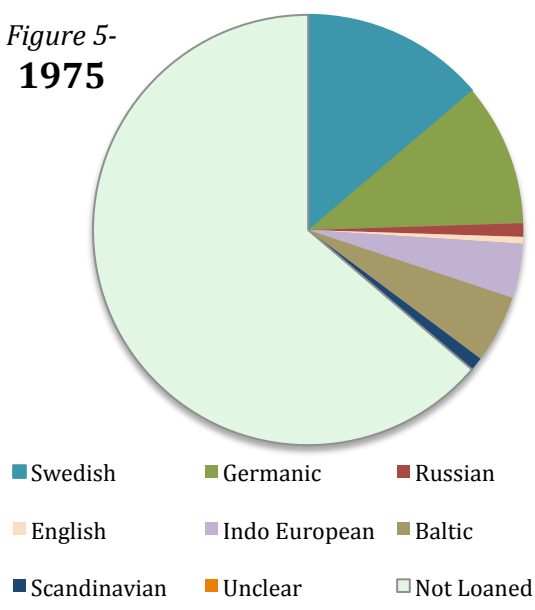
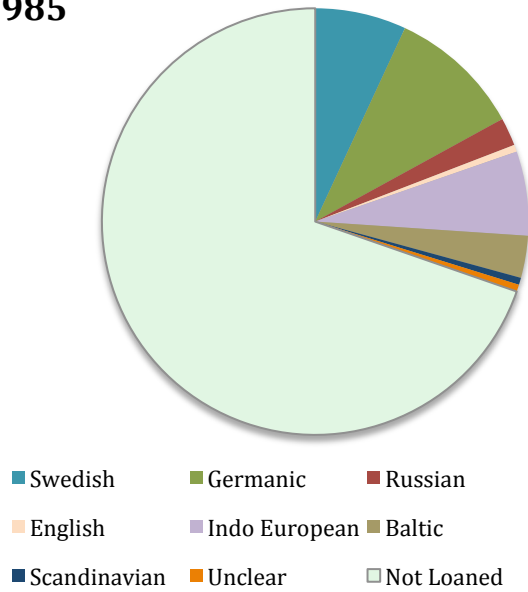
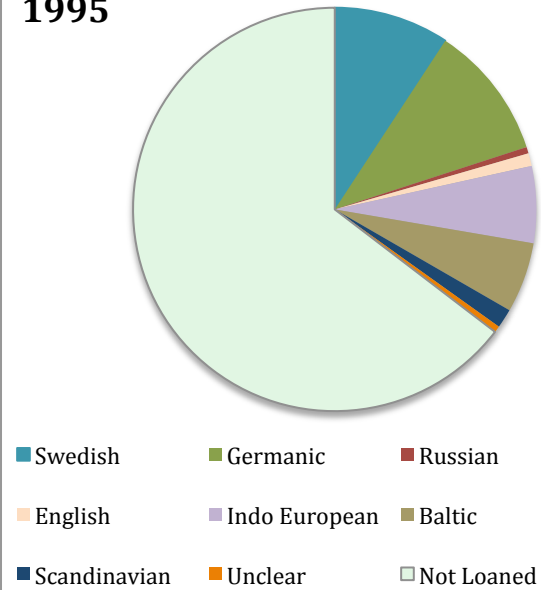
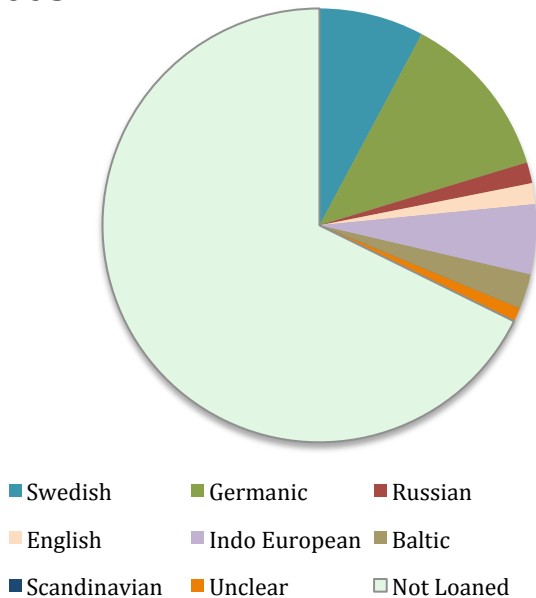


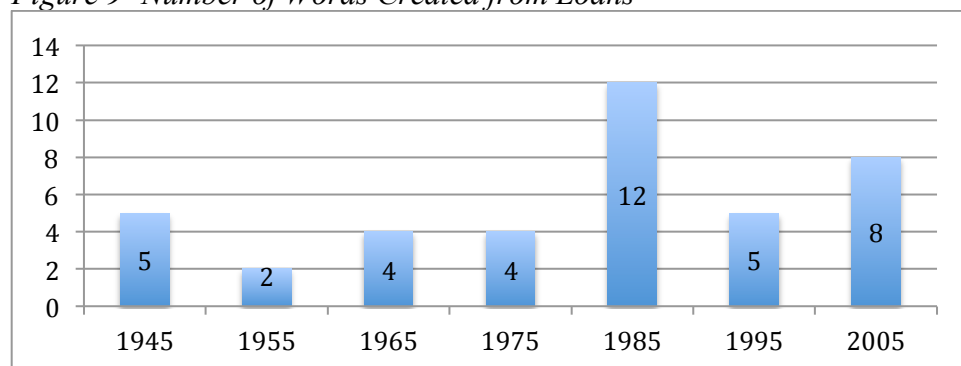
Figure 6-
1985*Figure 7-*
1995*Figure 8-*
2005

5.2 Breakout of Derived Loans

There were many instances where words were listed in the etymological dictionary as having derived from a previously borrowed word. Because these words were created by Finnish

speakers after having been initially borrowed, they were not counted as loanwords in my data. I recorded each of these instances separately and found that there averaged about five derived loans each decade with the significant exception of 1985 with twelve derived loans, as seen in Figure 9.

Figure 9- Number of Words Created from Loans



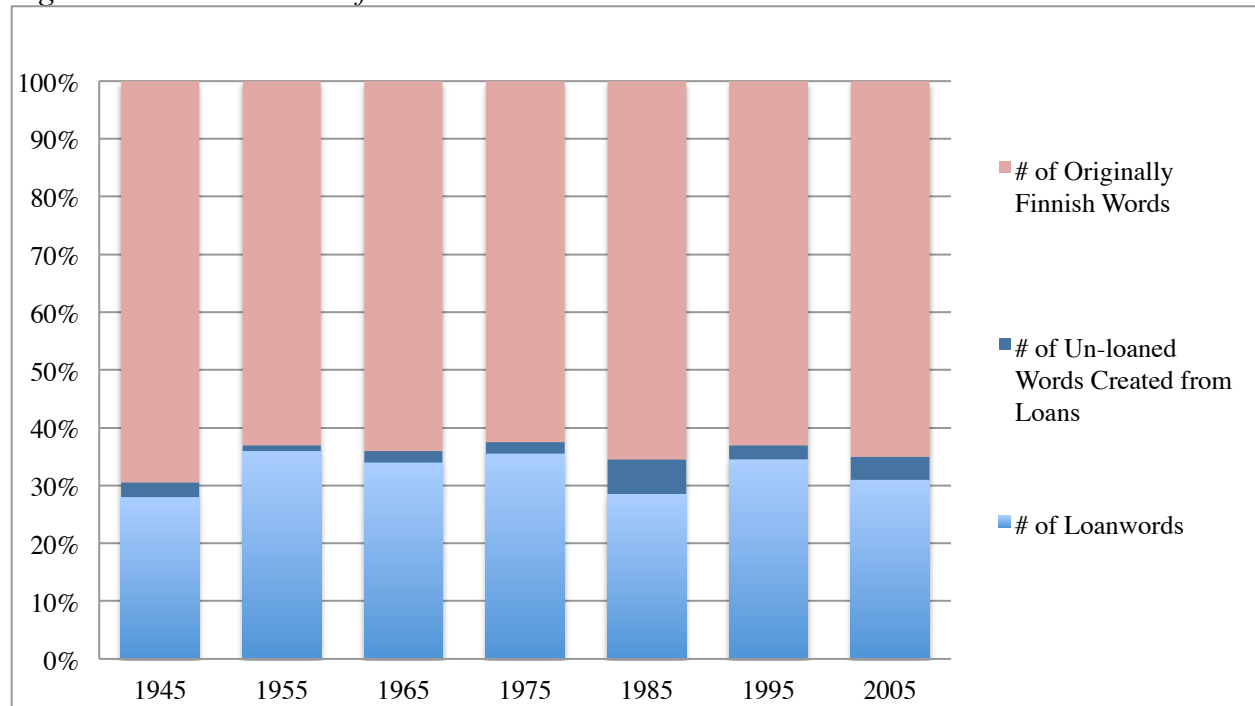
The number of loanwords in 1985 is about ten words fewer than both 1975 and 1995. If we take into account the relatively large number of derived loanwords, this brings the number of loanwords in 1985 more in line with what was found in the other decades. While many of the words in the article were of foreign origin, because the forms that appeared were only derived from loanwords and not initially loanwords themselves, they were not counted and thus gave a seemingly skewed sample.

The data from 2005 also show fewer loanwords than average, only 30% rather than 33%. Figure 3 reveals that this can be explained by that year having a slightly greater number of words derived from loans than average, eight as opposed to the average of five.

Figure 10 illustrates how these words derived from loanwords fit into the broader picture of the 200 words from each decade. The larger number of words derived from loanwords in 1945 is assumed to be chance and due to the subject of the articles for that year. If this year is excluded, there appears to be an overall increase in words derived from loanwords over time.

Words are often created due to a need in the language, such as for some newly created technology. Therefore this trend of more words derived from loanwords later in the century is notable as it coincides with an increase in new technology in the late 1900's.

Figure 10- Words Derived from Loanwords



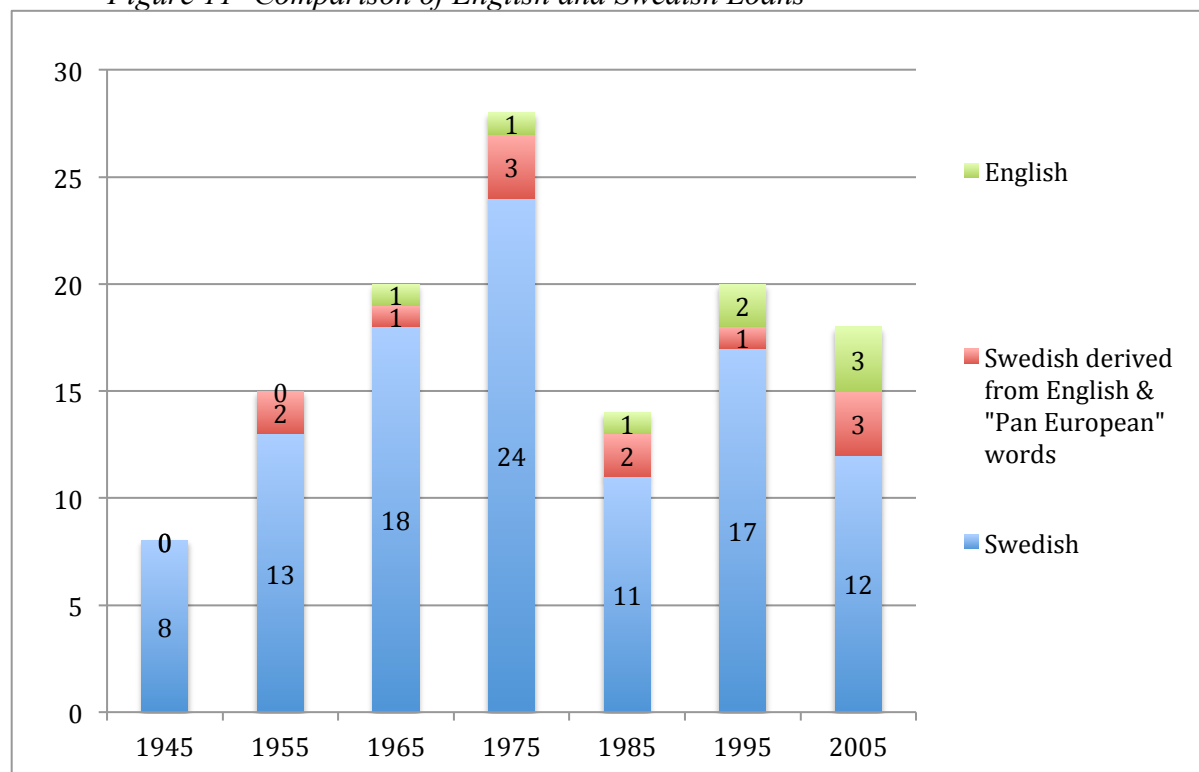
5.3 Swedish and English Loanword Comparison

Even after Sweden had ceased ruling Finland, the two countries maintained a close relationship. Most Finns spoke Swedish, a minority speaking Swedish as their first language, and many Finns had relatives still in Sweden, continuing to regularly have contact with them. Finland's close proximity to Sweden and their history of close relations fostered Finland's looking to Sweden as an example in fashion and culture; this inevitably led to the borrowing of many words from Swedish, some of which Swedish had borrowed from English or other languages. As Finland became more connected to other countries via a growing media network, Finns took more and more loans directly from English, especially as music shifted in the 1970s

and many Finns began to view English as the culturally prestigious language. As such, a comparison of Swedish and English loans is invaluable to see if a part of the rise in Swedish loans over the decades occurred because of an influx of English loans into Swedish that were subsequently borrowed into Finnish directly from Swedish rather than English.

Figure 11 below shows the number of words borrowed into Finnish of both English and Swedish origin in each decade. Swedish loan words that were listed as having originally derived from English or “Pan European” words³ are distinguished in this chart, however in the data they are counted as loanwords from Swedish because that is most likely the language from which Finnish took the word.

Figure 11- Comparison of English and Swedish Loans



³ “Pan European” words is the direct translation of the term used in Häkkinen’s etymological dictionary to define internationalisms that were commonly used throughout Europe, and implied to have unclear origins. However the words described as “Pan European” loans are words that were likely picked up via the media, thus making it probable they were picked up from English as it is a major language in the media around the world. These “Pan European” words included *normaali* ‘normal,’ *moottoria* ‘motor,’ *prosentti* ‘percent,’ and *kilometri* ‘kilometer.’

The figure shows a gradual increase in loans of English origin, albeit not a drastic increase. This chart indicates that words of English origin were already seen in the data in 1955 rather than with the first English loanword in 1965. There is no clear increase over time in Swedish loans derived from English, however this data shows that there were more words of English origin than the data initially revealed.

6.0 Discussion

The above results will be discussed more in depth in this section. On the whole, a larger sample size would improve the consistency of my data and would likely make the slight trend of an increase in English loanwords in the late 1900's more apparent. I will elaborate on the loanwords from the four most historically significant languages (Germanic, Swedish, Russian, and English) and look at how other factors may have affected my data, such as article content and effectiveness of the etymological dictionaries I used.

There were a number of loanwords that occurred in more than one decade, raising the question of whether my data suggests that more borrowings occurred from certain languages than others in different decades, or if the same few loanwords of a language are appearing frequently in multiple years. Table 3 lists the number of unique loanwords from each of the four historically significant languages as well as the number of loanwords including those repeated across the decades and what percentage of loanwords found were unique and did not appear multiple times. Note that I did not count words that were repeated within the same decade in my count to 200 unique words; this chart is showing how many of those words appeared in multiple decades, speaking to how common some words were over a span of multiple decades.

Table 3- Repeated vs. Unique Loanwords

	Number of Loanwords (With Repeats Across Decades)	Number of Unique Loanwords	Percentage of Unique Loans
Germanic	181	94	52%
Swedish	115	85	74%
Russian	19	12	63%
English	8	7	88%

This chart indicates that although the most loanwords were of Germanic origin, these were also the most likely to be found in multiple decades. While some Swedish loans were repeated, about three quarters were novel words. English had the most novel words, however this is likely because it also had the fewest loanwords in total. It should be noted that some of this repetition is likely due to the topics of the articles I looked at, a few articles from different decades discussed working hours as well as modes of transportation; this makes a greater repetition of words associated with the subject inevitable. The following section will go into more detail on the four loanword origins of historical significance and offer examples of the words that were found in the data.

6.1 Loanword Origins

6.1.1 Germanic loans

Many of the Germanic loans occurred in the 1500s when Agricola first created the written language; it is likely he was influenced by the time he spent in Germany as well as the fact German was viewed as a language of an advanced society during much of the 1700's and 1800's. Many later German loans occurred for terms for government and technology, such as *auto* for 'car' and *valta* for 'state.' This trend continued until English became a major donor language for technology.

The long history between Finland and Germany, Agricola's knowledge of German, and the geographic proximity of Germany to Finland, makes it reasonable that the bulk of loanwords from each decade came from Germanic. There were 94 different Germanic loanwords in the seven years of my data, the largest number of novel words from a single language of origin. The majority of these words were older loans, with only twelve out of the 94 different words being new loans, or words borrowed after 1700. Most of these old loans were present since the creation of the written language for many cross linguistically common nouns and verbs as well as many adverbs and a few conjunctions, notably *ja* the word for 'and.' Examples of some of the most commonly repeated words can be found in Table 4, where the word, part of speech, and definition are given along with the number of decades (out of seven) that the word was found in.

Table 4- Prevalence of Germanic Loanwords in Data

Number of Decades Found in	Finnish Word	Part of Speech⁴	Translation
6	<i>asia</i>	n.	'thing, matter'
	<i>ja</i>	conj.	'and'
	<i>mies</i>	n.	'man'
5	<i>jo</i>	adv.	'already'
	<i>suuri</i>	adj.	'large'
	<i>paikka</i>	n.	'place'
4	<i>auto</i>	n.	'car'
	<i>pieni</i>	adj.	'small'
	<i>valta</i>	n.	'state'
	<i>kansa</i>	n.	'people, nation'
	<i>tapahtua</i>	v.	'happen'
	<i>viikko</i>	n.	'week'

It is notable that the most commonly found words of Germanic origin are fairly evenly spread between nouns and adjectives, with an adverb and conjunction also appearing regularly.

⁴ The abbreviations I will use for parts of speech are adj. for adjective, adv. for adverb, comp. for complementizer, conj. for conjunction, n. for noun, and v. for verb.

The presence of conjunctions and adverbs is likely because there was a heavy Germanic influence when the written language was first created, from Agricola's experience with German as well as the prestige associated with it.

Table 5 provides some examples of Germanic loans into Finnish where a starred entry indicates a reconstructed form. The table shows that many common phonological processes such as devoicing of stops (/b/ → /p/ and /d/ → /t/) and word initial consonant deletion occurred when the words were borrowed.

Table 5- Germanic Loanwords

Germanic	Finnish	English Translation
<i>*baga</i>	<i>paha</i>	'bad'
<i>*raudan</i>	<i>rauta</i>	'iron'
<i>*stura</i>	<i>suuri</i>	'big'
<i>*speni</i>	<i>pieni</i>	'small'

6.1.2 Swedish loans

Most Swedish loanwords are older and occurred while Finland was under Swedish rule. Many terms for government and other common nouns were borrowed due to a need in the language, such as to name a government official or office. Some words were borrowed because of the prestige associated with Swedish as the language of the upper class, which also helped them to stick in the Finnish language.

Many newer Swedish loans occurred because Finland maintained close relations with Sweden despite the end of their rule due to some familial ties to those in Sweden and the high esteem with which Swedes and Sweden were still held. Since the turn of the 20th century, most Finns speak or at least recognize Swedish because it has been a mandatory language in schools for several decades. This makes it much easier for words to be borrowed into Finnish from

Swedish, as most people understand the word in its original form. Many words of English origin were borrowed into Finnish via Swedish because of the Finn's closer relations with Sweden both geographically as well as socially. This trend has been changing as media is viewed more on a global scale and Finland has greater access to goods and ideas from farther nations, namely English speaking countries.

There were 85 unique loanwords of Swedish origin in my seven years of data and only 115 Swedish loanwords in total, an indication that not many of the words were repeated. There were more new Swedish words loaned than old, with 49 of the novel Swedish loans being new and 36 being old. Words that were borrowed from Swedish include nouns relating to landmarks and time as well as education and the state. Table 6 lists examples of some of the most commonly repeated words, where the word, part of speech, and definition are given along with the number of decades (out of seven) that the word was found in.

Table 6- Prevalence of Swedish Loanwords in Data

Number of Decades Found in	Finnish Word	Part of Speech	Translation
5	<i>ministeri</i>	n.	'minister' (government official)
	<i>että</i>	comp.	'that'
4	<i>tunti</i>	n.	'hour'
	<i>merkki</i>	n.	'mark'
3	<i>koulu</i>	n.	'school'
	<i>salli</i>	n.	'storage place, cell'
	<i>prosentti</i>	n.	'percent'

Many words borrowed from Swedish maintained nearly the same Swedish pronunciation for a long time after being borrowed. Over time many of these words gained more Finnish pronunciation, Table 7 gives two examples of words from the data that gradually developed a more Finnish pronunciation over time.

Table 7- Diachronic Phonological Change in Swedish Loans

Original Swedish Loan	First Finnish Form	Modern Finnish	English Meaning
<i>frakt</i>	* <i>fracti</i>	<i>rahti</i>	‘cargo’
<i>gryn</i>	* <i>gryni/kryni</i>	<i>ryyni</i>	‘hulled grain’

In the *gryni/kryni* example, both forms were found through to the 1800s after the first form, *gryn*, was seen in 1637. /f/ and /g/ are not native Finnish sounds, thus it makes sense they were deleted from the Swedish loan.

6.1.3 Russian loans

While contact with Russians increased during the Russian rule as Russian civil servants and soldiers came into the cities, their linguistic influence ceased dramatically with Finland’s independence (Tandefelt & Finnäs 2007). Despite this, Russian loans are generally characterized as having been borrowed into Finnish long ago when the written language was first created. However, in my data exactly half of the twelve novel loans were old while the other six were new, or borrowed after 1700. While one might expect there to have been a surge in loans during the period of Russian rule in the 19th century, given the Russian language policy of support for Finnish and the failure of their Russification movement to promote the Russian language, the lack is not unexpected.

These loans are apparently not solely due to either need or prestige, given their wide array of meanings and uses, though the majority are nouns and verbs. One word in particular, *määrä* meaning ‘amount,’ and later derived to the verb for ‘demand,’ appeared in six out of the seven decades. Examples of some of the most commonly repeated Russian loanwords can be found in Table 8, where the word, part of speech, and definition are given along with the number of decades (out of seven) that the word was found in.

Table 8- Prevalence of Russian Loanwords in Data

Number of Decades Found in	Finnish Word	Part of Speech	Translation
6	<i>määrä</i>	n.	‘amount’
2	<i>tavara</i>	n.	‘things,’ ‘stuff’
	<i>suunta</i>	n.	‘direction’

Table 9 lists a few examples of Russian loans into Finnish. A difference in relevancy can be seen between older and newer loanwords, where older words are related to religion or simpler concepts whereas newer loans are for things and topics more prevalent in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Table 9- Russian Loanwords

Russian/Slavic	Old or New Loan	Finnish	English Translation
* <i>kristu</i>	Old	<i>risti</i>	Russian- ‘Christ’ Finnish- ‘cross’
* <i>svobod</i> (modern Russian word is <i>svoboda</i>)	Old	<i>vapaa</i>	‘free time’
<i>kanava</i>	New	<i>kanava</i>	‘channel’ (later for tv channel)
<i>rod</i>	New	<i>rotu</i>	‘race’ (became more commonly used when the Darwinism debate occurred in late 1800s)

6.1.4 English loans

English loans are occurring with increasing frequency in the late 20th century and are continuing to occur rapidly today as media and technology have advanced and the Internet has fostered the faster dispersal of information. Modern Finnish slang consists almost entirely of English loanwords whereas it used to consist mostly of Swedish loanwords. Many English words are replacing previously borrowed Swedish words; an example is seen with the Finnish word

trefailla meaning ‘to date,’ which originally came from Swedish. It is now being replaced by *deittaila* from the English ‘date.’

The bulk of English loans are occurring for advances in technology and transportation as well as for trends in the media. Fads in the United States and Europe often spread to Finland and consequently as an English loanword into Finnish. Today English is often used as a mark of identity for certain groups of young people in Finland who ascribe to particular hobbies with which English is associated, such as skateboarding (see section 2.3). It should be noted that English loans are occurring under different circumstances than loanwords from Swedish and Russian, as English speakers do not hold an imperial, ruling relationship over Finland. Most English loanwords are occurring voluntarily and as a result of less personal and direct contact than those that came from Swedish, meaning they are occurring in such quantity today because of the Internet and easier access to other English-speaking cultures.

English words are loaned both as calques and as direct copies; some Finnicised terms for technological advances were even gradually replaced with the English direct copy as English words are increasingly associated with being more innovative and trendier. The later decades of data consisted of more words that were derived from loanwords. This makes sense because as different aspects of technology continue to advance, new words are needed to name these innovations. These new words are derived from the basic words that Finnish already has, or words that were recently loaned.

While there were few English loanwords, almost all of them were novel, or not repeated in different decades. The only exception to this was *televisio* meaning ‘television,’ which was found in two decades. Table 10 lists the seven English loanwords that were found in the data.

Table 10- English Loanwords

English	Finnish
taxi	<i>taksi</i>
bacon	<i>pekoni</i>
television	<i>televisio</i>
musical piece	<i>biisi</i>
band	<i>bändi</i>
genital area	<i>genitaalia</i>
internet	<i>internetiä</i>

6.2 Effect of Article Content

While newspapers are a good source for a fairly typical form of language for a time period, their nature as a published forum of information implies that the language they use may be slightly more formal and conservative than what one might find in spoken varieties. I would expect other more modern sources of language such as online messaging and pop culture magazines to have more English loanwords than I found in the newspapers. The use of English by Finns is often heavily topic specific and used as an identity marker, where certain groups are more likely to include English words to the extent that the line between English and Finnish becomes blurred (see section 2.3). While the language of these texts may have a much higher percentage of English loans, it is not representative of the entire Finnish population. As such, the use of newspapers addressed my research question by giving a clearer insight into what language the majority of the population was using in a given decade, whereas online forums and topic specific magazines target a younger population and would give data on only a small portion of the population.

The language used in the newspapers was slightly more informal in style in the later decades I looked at, where the last two decades of articles made use of direct quotes from witnesses. These quoted sections read much more informally than the rest of the article, an indication that they were likely more representative of the colloquial language of the time. This

language variety was much less formal than that in the earlier decades of newspapers, and therefore a form more likely to contain newer loanwords that were not yet considered a part of Finnish. I expect that if I continued to look at more recent newspapers, the majority would include quotations with language slightly less formal than found in the earlier decades.

Additionally, the topic of the article may have impacted the number and type of loanwords that were incorporated. Articles before 1995 were mostly about vacation time, price increases, and transportation of various kinds including trains, cars, and ambulances. Articles in 1995 and 2005 were primarily about a rock band festival and birth defects caused by in-vitro fertilization. The later articles are on modern subjects that are very likely to have borrowed words, especially the rock band festival. It is also notable that the articles got progressively longer the more recent the decade was, where I had to look at three articles for the first four decades to reach 200 unique words, but only about one and a half articles in the last three decades. Longer articles meant that I looked up more words that pertained to the same topic, meaning a less varied language sample as many of the words were related at least by subject matter.

Data from 1975 showed an unusually high number of loan words, about ten more loanwords than the decades immediately following and preceding. This rise is likely because articles from this decade were about transportation (both trains and buses) and household goods such as meats and toilet paper. These are all terms that are likely loaned; the transportation terms because the means of transport were brought into Finland from elsewhere, and the household goods because they are products likely to be advertised, and foreign sounding words often sound more exotic and appealing to the consumer. Additionally, some of the names for household

goods, especially the meats, were likely borrowed from Swedish during their rule, when Swedish was the prestigious language.

6.3 Effectiveness of Etymological Dictionary

Häkkinen's dictionary is an improvement on the whole from previous etymological dictionaries in its ease of usage for linguists and non-linguists alike. Each entry is followed by between a couple lines and a couple paragraphs of prose style information on the origins of the word, reconstructed forms, other languages its found in, and when it first appeared in the Finnish language. It also explicitly states if a word is of unknown origins, which previous dictionaries were reluctant to do (Aikio 2005: 401).

The key issue with Häkkinen's dictionary was its assertion that some words were loaned into Finnish from Latin in the 1800's. It makes little sense to suggest that Finnish was borrowing words from Latin in the 1800's; rather the words are likely of Latin origin as opposed to Finnish borrowing directly from the Latin. The dictionary easily could have had an additional line stating that it is unknown where Finnish got the word from or simply listed the most plausible sources; especially given that the two examples in my data seem to be clearly English or Swedish loans, *idea* 'idea' and *terapia* 'therapy.'

Häkkinen's dictionary also defined some words borrowed into Finnish as "Pan-European" words with implied unclear origins. The nature of the words in my data strongly suggested English origins via the media (see footnote 2) and thus it is unclear why a more definite assertion of their origin was not made. On the whole, the dictionary is a highly usable and reliable reference tool, despite the slight confusion over the origins of a couple words. Itkonen's three-volume dictionary was also very reliable and precise in its definitions and a good

secondary tool; though it was slightly confusing to navigate given the numerous abbreviations used to define a word's origins.

7.0 Conclusion

This research offers a chronological look at how one language has changed over time as a result of social and political changes, technological advances, and media pressures. Many factors have influenced the creation and development of the Finnish language including its creation by the German influenced Agricola, Russia taking power and instituting a language policy encouraging the development of Finnish in the 19th century, population shift over the late 19th and early 20th centuries that encouraged language mixing between Swedish and Finnish, and the advent of new technology that fostered the spread and incorporation of English. The data I gathered complements these historical and social trends in Finland throughout the 1900's and I would expect the trends to only be strengthened if more data is gathered from other years.

7.1 Implications

My research suggests that with the late 20th and early 21st centuries, English is gradually being incorporated into standard Finnish. English is primarily used today in context specific situations, such as in business, or as a marker of identity with portions of the younger population who ascribe to certain hobbies with a primarily English lexicon, such as skateboarding. This means that while not many English loanwords were found in my newspaper data, if I looked at other sources of language such as pop culture magazines or online forums, there would likely be a much greater number of English loans. This discrepancy between my newspaper data and the regularity of English usage in Finland today suggests that English will become increasingly

accepted in the Standard Finnish and will likely begin to appear with increasing regularity in newspaper articles, such as those I looked at in the Helsingin Sanomat.

While some believe the globalization of English is posing a threat to Finnish as English is being used in more and more spheres of everyday life, others suggest that Finns will simply become increasingly aware of the different functions of multiple languages in everyday life. English is often used in combination with Finnish to display a speaker's ability to negotiate a social situation or appear otherwise well informed in pop culture. So long as English is viewed as a complement to Finnish, and Finnish is seen as a source of pride and cultural heritage rather than an unproductive burden, there is no true danger of English marginalizing Finnish. The data showed that there has been a gradual increase in English loanwords as technology has advanced, and an increase in words derived from previous loanwords as terms for new innovations are required.

7.2 Changes for Future Research

If I were to continue this research, I would gather a larger sample size from each decade, of at least 500 words rather than 200. A larger sample size from each decade will likely strengthen the trends that are seen, as would data from more than one year in a decade. I would also try to compare the newspaper data to other language sources from each decade, such as written letters if available, memoirs, and online news forums in hopes of getting a more natural and colloquial variety of speech. I would anticipate the data from this change in source to display slightly more loanwords, with their origins depending on the region from which the sources came. I would expect more Swedish loanwords if the documents came from western Finland and more Russian loans if they came from eastern Finland. In newer sources, I would expect to continue to see a rise in English loans, likely a more drastic rise in samples of language that are

less formal than newspapers. I would also like to examine if newer loanwords take the same range of cases as other Finnish words, in order to see to what extent these loanwords are fully incorporated into the language.

Leppänen and Nikula suggest that much of the English used by Finns is very context specific, where certain topics such as video games are discussed with an almost bilingual or mixed vocabulary between Finnish and English (2007). I would be interested in expanding my study to examine what topics and language sources lend themselves to the most English loanwords and how different groups that are interested in these topics may index their identity by their language usage as belonging to the group associated with the topic. I would look at the publications and online forums associated with skateboarding, video games, fashion, and other sports to see if any trends can be distinguished.

7.3 Final Remarks

Overall, this study offered a baseline of information for the spread of loanword origins in Finnish, revealing that most loanwords that endured to the modern language came from Germanic and Swedish. While the data did not speak as much to the rise of English loanwords as expected, the slight upward trend in the last decades of data is promising and suggests there may continue to be a rise in subsequent years. The loanword data directly correlates with Finland's social and political relations throughout history, confirming that government policy and societal pressures have a huge influence on language change. The endurance of Finnish into the 20th century has been dependent on many factors including a lack of emigration, the use of the language in religious services, and can largely be attributed to Russia taking control from Sweden in 1808 and instituting policies that advocated for the development of Finnish. These

steps helped maintain Finnish before Finns began to actively protect, promote, and monitor the language.

As the 21st century progresses, Finnish is facing increasing influence from English, and while some fear that English may cause Finnish to be marginalized by native speakers, such fears are unfounded. English usage remains topic dependent and is being used to complement a speaker's Finnish, rather than replacing it. Finnish's history of enduring despite pressures from other more prestigious or otherwise dominant languages suggests that it will continue to endure no matter how prevalent English becomes.

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Appendix 1- Words of Apparent English and Swedish Origin Not Found in Dictionary

<u>Year</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Part of Speech</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Origins</u>	<u>Loaned From</u>	<u>When Borrowed/ Appeared</u>
2005	genitaaliaueisiin	noun	genital area	genitaalia	Not listed in dictionary; found in Romance languages, (originally from Latin) but not Swedish or Germanic languages aside from Danish; I'm hypothesizing an English loan because it isn't found in Swedish	English	1800s? It was an English word already in 1300s
1995	bändikatselmuk- sessa	noun	band	bändi	Likely an English loan because it was originally associated with newer music; got Beatles and other rock music from England, not Sweden, thus it would make sense to be a direct loan from English. That said, it is found in Swedish as well, so it is certainly a possibility that it is a loan from Swedish, however this is less likely	English	1960s came to Finnish; commonly used in English to describe a musical group in 1800s
1995	demoäänityksiin	noun	demo recording	demo	Likely loaned from English via Swedish; the English demo is a shortening for the word demonstration, which is the meaning it has in this sentence. Swedish word also is demo; in these cases of originally English word from Swedish, I decided that they likely came from Swedish first because a similar word is used in the Swedish and because the majority of loans with this loaned initial consonant (b/d) first came via Swedish	Swedish - English	
1995	pähkäilemään	verb	ponder	pähkile > pähkinä	Probably from peanut because of phrase 'kova pähkinä purtavaksi' 'a difficult problem to solve'; and 'siinä vasta pähkinä' 'that is quite a question to answer' pahkina is found in Finnic languages and some Ugric; reconstructed as *päsk3 (a native speaker informed me of the idiom)		1637
1995	idea	noun	idea/ point		Supposedly Latin, however given that its found in most Germanic and Romance languages, a close correspondence being with Swedish, it is more likely from Swedish. This is what happened with other words such as post, Swedish got it from French, which came from German, which had gotten it from Latin	Swedish - Swedish	late 1800s by Ferdinand Ahlman
1995	terapiaryhmiksi	noun	therapy groups	terapia	Supposedly Latin, however more likely got it from Swedish because similar words for therapy found throughout Germanic languages; probably Swedish got from French like others	Swedish - Swedish	1865 by Ferdinand Ahlman's dictionary

1975	energiakulut	noun	energy costs	energia	English gets the word from French; given pattern of Swedish getting many words from French that were later loaned into English, I'm assuming that this also happened with this word, rather than Finnish taking a Latin loan in the late 1800s	Swedish - Swedish	first seen in Finnish in the late 1800s; used as a physics term in 1868
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